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The Archaeology of Merryspring Nature Center: The Asa Hosmer Farm (ME 073.014) and The Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment (ME 073.015), Part 1

Harbour Mitchell III

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Part 1

Harbour Mitchell, III
November, 2020

This Report

In light of the overall amount of information gathered in two years of testing, and in an effort to make it as reader-friendly as possible, this report is comprised of five parts, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, each being a separate volume. Each part represents a stand-alone section of the whole, with its own Table of Contents, Table of Figures, and Introduction.

Part 1 includes: Executive Summary; Acknowledgements; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; Introduction; Geographical and Geological Context; Historic Background; Historic Ownership of Lot 71; and Regional Archaeological Context.

Part 2 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figure; Introduction; Archaeological Rationale, Context, and Protocol .

Part 3 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; Introduction; Soil Stratigraphy; Archaeological Stratigraphy; Features; Cultural Materials.

Part 4 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; Introduction; Cultural Material Spatial Distribution; Conclusions; and References Cited.

Part 5 includes: Executive Summary; Table of Contents; Table of Figures; and Appendices A-D.

In its content, this report is primarily a descriptive effort – the what, where, and when of two years of archaeological testing. That said, given 1) an "umbilical" relationship between ME 073.014, ME 073.015, and the long forgotten trans-regional Warren Road, and 2) an identical relationship between the Warren Road and nearby sites ME 373.016 and ME 373.017, and all of their temporal interconnectedness, it is near impossible to avoid introducing some interpretation, at least as it relates to site location and relationships. The author does, however, endeavor to avoid unfettered speculation.

Executive Summary

On April 16, 2018, the author began archaeological testing in an open hay field at Merryspring Nature Center, Camden, Maine (Figure 1). A sub-rectangular depression, located in the field's northeast corner, suggested the presence of a possible filled cellar. The first shovel test pit, located immediately north of, and adjacent to the depression, recovered 18th c. ceramics, confirming the author's suspicions of an occupation.

The author, recognizing the site as, if not unique, then extremely rare within the micro-region known as mid-coast Maine (i.e., Waldoboro to Stockton Springs), undertook additional testing. Transects and shovel test pit (STP) locations were established, and testing continued from April to October, 2018. Expanded testing included a much broader site area, encompassing agricultural field, field edge tree line, and egress to the site's only immediately available potable water, the spring after which Merryspring Nature Center is named. Testing resumed in April, 2019, and continued through October, 2019. Over the course of 2018's and 2019's field seasons, the author excavated no less than 100, 50cm^2 shovel test pits, and approximately 25, 1m^2 units (Figure 2).

Archaeological testing reveals spatially extensive archaeological deposits associated with two early historic period sites. The sites, located approximately 50m distant from one another, are: ME 073.015, the fourth quarter 18th c. Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment, named after the historically identified officer in charge of an 18th c. militia encampment believed to be located there; and ME 073.014, the 19th c. Asa Hosmer Farm, named after the farm's first occupant, c. 1803.

ME 073.015: The Lt. Benjamin Burton Militia Encampment

Minimally, ME 073.015 includes: a late 18th c., likely earthfast structure, estimated to be at least 24' x 30'. The structure is represented by: a very large, 4.5m x 5.5m (15' x 18') apparently unlined earthen cellar; and remnants of a 2.5 x 2.5m (8'x8') loose stone chimney base. Occupation is represented by: a spatially extensive midden, involving at least 200-300m^2 of A_p and sub-A_p soils; and, immediately south of the structure, a .75 acre agricultural field containing limited, but ubiquitous, temporally contemporary cultural materials, primarily ceramics.

Testing reveals ME 073.015 to be both spatially extensive and materially diverse. Chinese export porcelain, English soft paste porcelain, wheel engraved stemware, punchbowls (creamware glazed, China Glaze, and Fazackerly deft), engine turned refined white earthenwares and refined redwares, and Whieldonware are combined with numerous other examples of fourth quarter 18th c. material culture.

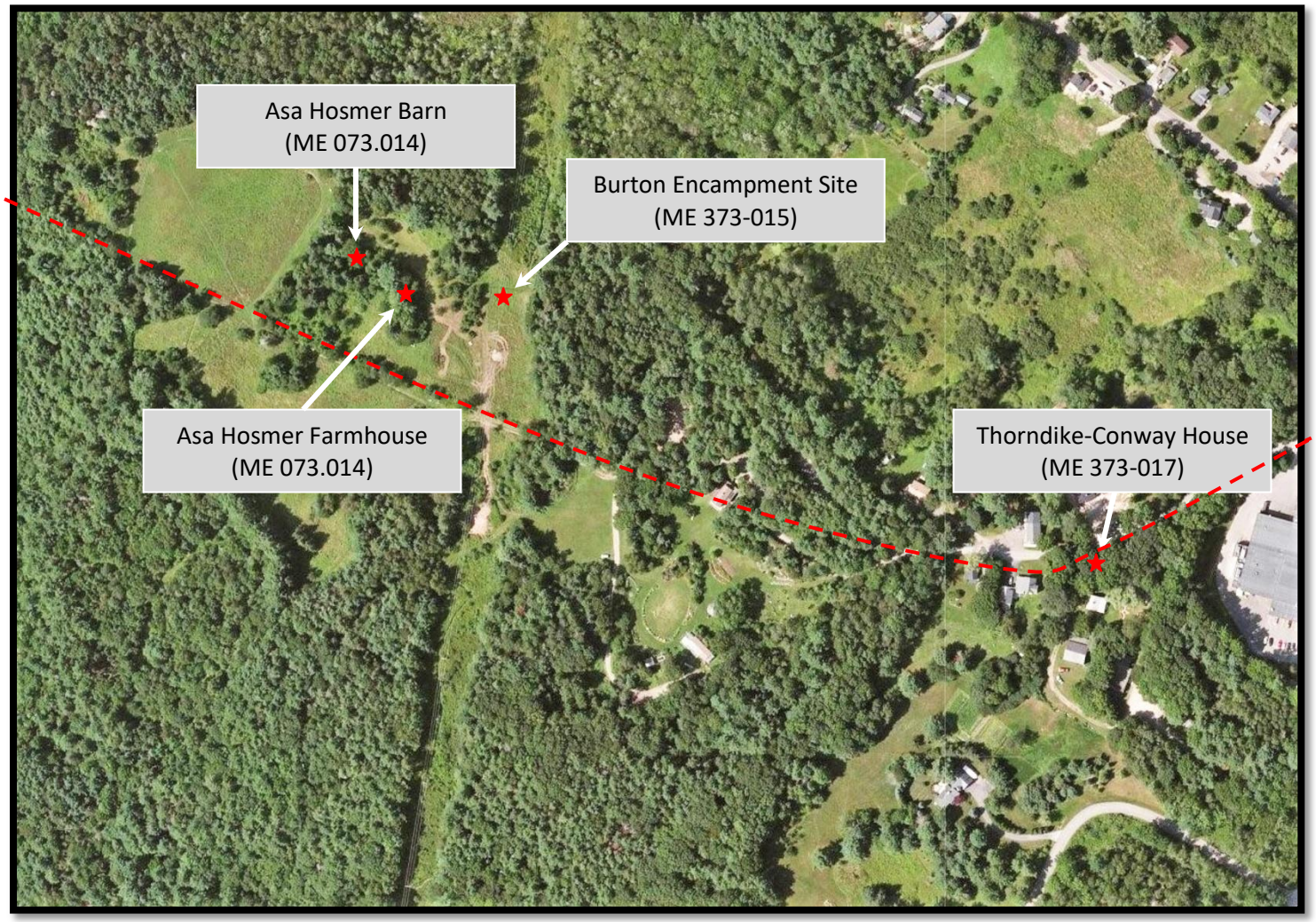

Figure 1: Merryspring Nature Center, ME 073.015 & .014, and ME373.016 & .017

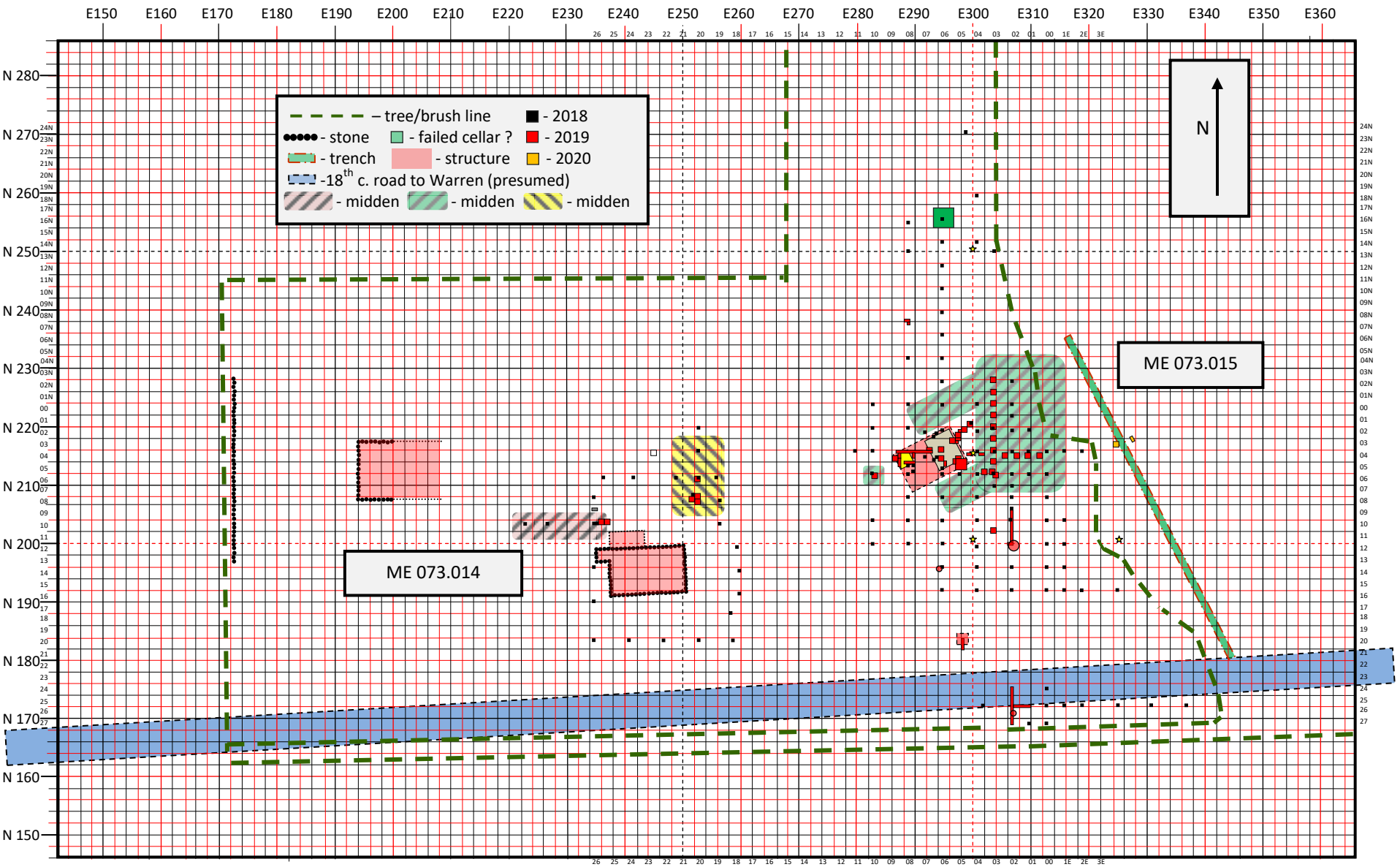

Figure 2: 2018, 2019, and 2020 archaeological testing at Merryspring Nature Center

The whole strongly suggests the site's initial occupation was not a frontier residence; it is likely the initial occupation was not an effort at frontier settlement by a simple settler-farmer (homesteader) and his family. Indeed, historical data suggest late 18th c. coastal and interior mid-Maine was not only grossly underdeveloped economically, but predominantly populated by under-educated or totally uneducated settlers/subsistence farmers, that is, families whose circumstances included permanent destitution and, in some cases, near, if not outright starvation (Taylor 1990).

During the site's occupation, c. 1775± - 1802, money was not a common reality for most in mid-Maine. "In August, 1788, Norridgewock's seventy-nine taxpayers collectively possessed a mere seven dollars in coin…" (Taylor 1990:66). "…in the early 1790's there was so little money in this country [mid-Maine] that dollars were shewn about among the farmers as curiosities.' " (Taylor 1990:66, citing Allis 1954). And, "in very long stretches of completely settled coast there is no specie… there all transactions are in the form of barter." (Taylor 1990:66, citing Talleyrand - no date)

Additionally, a great percentage of the region's settlers, whether arriving earlier or later in mid-Maine, lived in log homes, or hovels, with little or no resources to supply immediate, let alone longer term needs. So called "framed houses" (lumber constructed) were the rare exception. In 1792, in Jefferson, Maine, only twenty miles west of Camden, a mere 18% of taxpayers owned a framed house, and only 43% owned a barn. By 1801, those percentages had grown to only - 46% and 51%, respectively (Taylor 1990:258, Table 6).

Thus, a significantly large, albeit possibly earthfast, 18th c. structure with glass windows, nails, brick, an overly large cellar, and clear evidence of a broad subsistence economy and developed circumstances (e.g., tea sets and punch bowls) exists in stark contrast to the broader regional expectation.

Beyond the immediate structure and associated midden, ME 073.015 includes a broad distribution of cultural materials throughout the hay field immediately south of the structure. This distribution of cultural materials, principally small ceramic sherds, is interpreted as reflecting agricultural practice associated with one or more later, 18th c. occupations, specifically the spreading of pig manure. The agricultural field also includes a large pit feature containing sheep remains, and both 18th c. European and presumed Native American content.

Further, the physical extent of the site, overall, is not limited to the area of the structure, its midden, and adjacent field to the south. Limited testing reveals cultural materials,

specifically ceramics, at least 60m north of, and well down the steep valley slope leading north, away from the site's main structure - the current, and presumably historic path to the flowing spring located north of the site. Additionally, visual inspection of the small stream emanating from the spring identifies the presence of Euro-American, early 19th c., if not late 18th c. ceramics within its gravel bed. Clearly the preceding two centuries of historic use of the landform includes an inferred use/dependence upon this water source, indeed, the landform's only surficial water source of any kind.

As noted above, a non-European component is also suggested at ME 073.015. A contemporary Native American presence is strongly suggested by the recovery of: shattered rhyolite cobble fragments; possible red clay beads; and large, hammered, folded and rolled, 18th c. flat buttons (interpreted as possible ornamentation).

Given the limited scope of testing, a full understanding of this 18th c. Native American presence is not available. However, a similar presumed Native American assemblage at the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017) (Mitchell 2016a, 2016b, 2017), located approximately 1/5th mile east of the ME 073.015, strongly suggests the Native American presence at both is likely more than incidental, or coincidental.

In 1779, Continental land and naval forces, including 290 Massachusetts Militia and Native American Penobscot warriors from a base in modern Glen Cove (Rockport), attempted to evict British forces from Castine, a town along the Penobscot River, north of Camden. The effort proved disastrously unsuccessful, resulting in a complete route of Continental forces. Many of the retreating soldiers, and presumably Penobscots, fled south, seeking refuge at homes and farms in Camden (all of present-day Camden and Rockport).

As Camden remained the "front line" between British and Continental forces for the remainder of the Revolutionary War, it is reasonable that a Continental force remained in Camden for some period of time, in order to protect against, or at least warn others farther south of any British advance. The historic record indicates such a force was stationed at "Camden Harbor" by at least 1780 - Lt. Benjamin Burton and a small force (Robinson 1907). The presence of a second, spatially and temporally contemporary Revolutionary War period site (Thorndike-Conway House, ME 373.017) along what was historically referred to as the "Warren Road" is suggestive of a strategic militarily intent.

The Warren Road, as it is referred to in 19th c. documents (e.g., deeds), was likely the only 18th c. overland route from the deep water anchorages of today's Camden and Rockport, to the Continental headquarters in Warren (present-day Thomaston). Recent

archaeological survey by the author located a remnant of the Warren Road approximately ¼ mile west of ME 073.015 (Mitchell 2019a). Not only does the Warren Road follow a route through Merryspring Nature Center, and past the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.0170) and its Revolutionary War period site, but evidence indicates it was a pre-19th c. *engineered* roadway (Mitchell 2019a).

Had the British chosen to pursue the retreating Continental forces in 1779, or initiated an offensive at a later date, Camden and Rockport harbors would have been strategically critical to such an effort. And 18th c. Warren, being only 11 miles south, was vulnerable to an unobserved and rapid overland approach by British forces, via the Warren Road. Had Warren fallen to British forces, all of northern Massachusetts (i.e., Maine) could have become British territory. It is, therefore, reasonable that some form of combined Continental Militia and Penobscot warrior force maintained semi-permanent, contemporary encampments at both the Thorndike-Conway House and ME 073.015 locations.

Further, a spatial extension of the Revolutionary War period component at the ME 073.015 is inferred from recovery of fourth quarter 18th c. materials within ME 073.014's middens (e.g., an opaque glass trade bead, lithic debitage, large 18th c. flat buttons, and case bottle fragments). This apparent spatially remote component, contemporary with, but 50m distant from the 1770's occupation at ME 073.015, appears to have been present on, or adjacent to the landform on which the Hosmer farm's cellar is located. An immediate spatial overlap of 18th and 19th c. components there appears to have led to incorporation of earlier,18th c. cultural materials into the later, 19th c. middens (18th c. cultural materials are also found secondarily deposited within the 19th c. Thorndike-Conway House midden (e.g., glass trade beads).

Identification and separation of these two components will be an important aspect of any future investigative agenda at ME 073.014; some aspects of the fourth quarter, 18th c. encampment component *may remain extant beneath the Hosmer cellar's backdirt*.

ME 073.014: The Asa Hosmer Farm Site

ME 073.014 is principally represented by a roughly 30' x 33' loose (i.e., non-mortared) stone-lined cellar located, as noted above, approximately 50m west-southwest of ME 073.015. ME 073.014's total spatial limits are not, as yet, fully defined. However, visual inspection identifies a site area potentially encompassing thousands of square meters - a main farmhouse (cellar), two middens, at least one outbuilding foundation 30m northwest of the cellar, stone walls, and extensive agricultural fields with possible additional archaeological deposits.

Asa Hosmer arrived in Camden, c. 1785. Being both an early resident, and Camden's first school teacher, Homer's farm has local, if not regional significance. In addition, the value of an essentially undisturbed, first quarter, pre-War of 1812, War of 1812, and early Maine statehood, 19th c. farm site cannot be understated. Few, if any, such sites remain in the mid-coast Maine region. And likely none exist in such an undisturbed condition.

While limited to a small percentage of overall testing, data suggest initial construction of the Hosmer farm dates to between 1800 and 1810. It is possible that Elisha Gibbs, ME 073.015's last resident, having entered into a four year contractual lease/purchase agreement with the parcel's owner in 1799, began construction of the farmhouse, only to lose possession of it in 1801, due to unfortunate circumstances. In 1803, Asa Hosmer became the parcel's owner, and the farmhouse is likely either taken ownership of, completed, or built by Hosmer at that time.

ME 073.014 includes two spatially separate, but related household middens. The middens lie adjacent to the farm cellar's northwest and northeast corners. Ceramics from within the middens, being the best temporal indicator, suggest the farm's occupation begins at or immediately after the turn of the 18th/19th centuries. Early polychrome pearlware glazed ceramics (possibly associated with occupation of ME 073.015) and early forms of blue shell edged pearlware glazed ceramics identify the approximate onset of occupation. Broad brush, cobalt blue floral decorated pearlware (c.1815-1830) identifies the terminal limit of occupation. No ceramics post-dating embossed shell edged pearlware, or broad brushed cobalt blue pearlware are present in the current sample; no whiteware is present.

While the significant volume of cultural materials present in both middens might suggest the farm to have been relatively prosperous, several indicators combine to suggest sustainability, but not prosperity:

- the paucity of high cost ceramics (e.g., Chinese export porcelain);
- the limited amount and diversity of otherwise available pearlware glazed ceramics (e.g., late polychrome decoration);
- the overwhelming dominance of creamware glazed ceramics;
- the extraordinary amount of utilitarian redware;

- and a noteworthy combination of low diversity within the faunal sample (e.g., no fish or bird) and low quality mammalian subsistence remains (e.g., pig's feet).

The above also suggests the Asa Hosmer farm was not what is commonly referred to as a self-sustaining farm, one which supplies its own internal needs. The appearance of (presumably) purchased (or bartered) butchered mammal parts (e.g., calf tail vertebrae, and pigs feet), and the high volume of utilitarian redwares, suggests the possibility of a dairy farm, perhaps supplying the micro-region with milk and other dairy products, while sustaining itself on food and other products purchase with the proceeds. This possibility also hints at growing post-Revolutionary War, micro-regional, economic specialization.

Ship building, a developing lime industry, and other economic and logistical "drivers" might have encouraged specialization (and possibly social stratification) within the immediate micro-regional population. Butchers, ship wrights, dairy farmers, mill workers, fishermen, carpenters, common laborers, blacksmiths, stone masons, quarrymen, and other non-agricultural, potentially *year-round* vocations would be required in an economically diverse and prospering, post-Revolutionary War Camden. Such a circumstance might explain the stark contrast between the archaeological evidence and the general state of hardship within mid-Maine (see above).

In light of the above, then, the farm's apparent sudden demise, while not understood, is all the more curious. Some circumstance caused the farm's complete abandonment by the mid to late 1820's, *with no ensuing reoccupation*! Disease may have played a role.

Pyle identifies cholera began moving into Maine's central seaboard in the 1820's, arriving in Bangor by late 1832.

> "During December 1832, a chest of clothing that had belonged to a sailor, who had died of cholera at a Baltic port, arrived at his home in a small village near Bangor, Me. The chest was opened, the clothing was distributed to his friends, and all who received the garments were taken with cholera and died." (1969)

Alternatively, economic hardship may have played a role in the farm's abandonment. Even if the Hosmer farm were economically viable at one time, the second decade of the 19thc. was unforgiving. Climactic instability caused shortages on farms and across the region. Additionally, the English, and the War of 1812, brought commerce and trade to

a near standstill. As one Camden resident, William Parkman, put it, regarding the agricultural hardships:

> "*As to the times they are very hard. The district of Maine is going [to] wreck as fast as ever a country did. Farms can be purchased for less than half of what they could have been 5 or 6 years ago. A great many is moving away to Ohio.*" (Taylor 1990:239).

Yet another Camden resident, Alibeus Partridge, spoke to the English dominance of the bays in 1813.

> "The times are exceedingly dark… hundreds and hundreds have neither bread nor potatoes to eat… [shipping] is almost cut off. The British take and carry of[f] and burn numbers of [ships] so that… the southern trade is so stopt that no provisions is brought from thence to help the difficulty." (Taylor 1990:239).

The above not-withstanding, the author believes another factor may have adversely impacted the large farm, making it less and less sustainable - lack of adequate on-site water supply. By the mid to late 1820's, and based on visual identification only, the farm had grown spatially to include at least one outbuilding, and extensive fields. The presence of an addition to the home, in a possible new kitchen on the rear of the house, suggests internal growth of the farm. Ever increasing demand on a limited water resource (the single spring) by a growing farm and household may have destabilized what was, at a smaller scale, previously economically viable.

By the 1830's, soon after the farm's abandonment, the 18th c. parcel on which both archaeological sites are located (Lot 71 of the Twenty Associates, c.1768) was divided longitudinally (east to west) by contractual agreement. While the portion north of the Warren Road, including both archaeological sites, was spared, the entire area south of the Warren Road was commercially leased for $50 to "blow lime" (i.e., quarry lime). The line of demarcation between the lot's two halves is presumed to have been the then abandoned Warren Road, which, in earlier times, bisected the lot precisely as the lime contract identifies its subdivision. However, a western bypass of the Warren Road, identified in an 1811 survey map, suggests either its infrastructural inefficiency or obsolescence, or both, by that time.

Beyond a lack of economic sustainability, the "explosive" nature of a commercial lime operation in one's front yard would no doubt have contributed to abandonment and

lack of reoccupation of the farm, for at least the duration of quarrying (c. 1830's and 1840's).

Analogous circumstances are seen in the late 20th and early 21st centuries – enormous pressure to exploit a natural resource on the same landform as a farm - gravel. Regionally, the financially lucrative 20th c. endeavor of gravel excavation has led to many, once prosperous 19th and 20th c. farms becoming little more than "the old homestead", and a few outbuildings, with the balance of once lush fields and pastures now little more than large holes in the ground.

As it relates to the limited testing of the fourth quarter 18th, and first quarter 19th century archaeological record at Merryspring Nature Center, the following is clear:

- A very significant fourth quarter 18th c. component is present at ME 073.015 and includes: an earthen cellar; chimney base; and extensive, though historically disturbed, midden deposits.

- The site includes a Revolutionary War temporal component, with evidence of a coincident Native American presence.

- A temporal, and possibly immediate relationship exists between some portion of the 18th c. component at Merryspring Nature Center and that of the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017), a few hundred meters to the east. This relationship is believed related to Revolutionary War use of the two properties as semi-permanent, though possibly seasonal encampments/outposts by Continental forces, likely including Penobscot warriors.

- ME 073.015 includes extensive, likely terminal 18th c. agricultural activity. This is inferred via the presence of considerable, though broadly distributed terminal 18th c. ceramics thinly, but evenly distributed across an extensive area of field south of the structure itself. This activity is presumed related to spreading of (most likely) pig manure.

- First quarter, 19th c. occupation is present at ME 073.014, and includes: the farmhouse's loose stone lined cellar; one outbuilding foundation; and two undisturbed household middens.

- ME 073.014 also includes a possible fourth quarter 18th c., probable Revolutionary War period component, identified through contemporary cultural

materials (e.g., large 18th c. silver washed flat button, case bottle fragments, and glass trade bead).

- ME 073.014 maintains evidence of extensive agricultural activity, identified by at least one outbuilding foundation west of the farm's cellar, stone field walls, and well developed pastures across the land form.

- And lastly, the 1830s and '40s saw significant amounts of limestone quarrying on the parcel. There is certainly an important archaeological reality associated with this activity. Although untested, there are numerous quarries and, presumably, buildings and archaeological deposits associated with this activity. While no effort is currently underway to define this reality, it represents a near pristine opportunity to archaeologically explore the burgeoning, pre-industrial age lime industry and technology in mid-coast Maine.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Acknowledgements

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In addition, this effort could not have been feasible were it not for the generous support of, and effort by volunteers in the field and the lab. In particular, the author wishes to thank Sarah Cole, Marilyn Boyer, and Antyna Gould.

And finally, a sincere thank you to Paul Bock, an invaluable friend and colleague, whose knowledge and insight is deeply appreciated.

Introduction

It began, quite literally, with a simple walk-in-the-park. In April, 2018, the author and Brett Willard, Merryspring Nature Center's Program Director, took a walking tour of the Nature Center, located in Camden, Maine. The walk was prompted by the author's pre-awareness of a loose-laid, stone lined cellar on the property.

Upon reviewing the stone cellar, Brett and the author continued across an open field immediately adjacent to, and northeast of the cellar. As the walk took place in early April, the field had not yet grown up into tall grass, and its contour was readily visible. Some 50m east-northeast of the stone lined cellar, and easily discernible to the naked eye, was a large, though shallow, sub-rectangular depression. To the author, the depression resembled a filled cellar hole. After noting the depression, both Brett and the author continued their walk to the spring after which Merryspring Nature Center is named. The spring's location is immediately north of, and downhill from the stone-lined cellar, the depression, and the open field.

Later, the author identified to Brett his desire to archaeologically test the depression, with the rationale that, if workers had been present to build the stone-lined cellar, they may have had a structure in which to live while doing so. After requesting it of Merryspring's Board of Trustees, the author was granted permission, on April 16, 2018, to undertake archaeological testing of the field. With the very first test pit, it became immediately apparent that the sub-rectangular depression in mid field was associated with an 18th c. occupation; creamware and pearlware ceramics were recovered in the very first test pit.

Thus began a three year effort to spatially and temporally identify, and report the archaeology of both ME 073.014 and ME 073.015.

Geographical and Geological Context

Mid-Coast Maine

The mid-coast Maine region, and specifically the Camden/Rockport area, was carved into its current form by glacial and post-glacial activity - steep sided valleys and low, round topped mountains, bounded to the east by Penobscot Bay. That activity not only formed the regional landscape (e.g., Mt. Battie to the north), but added to it, depositing much of the locally available sands and gravels. Post-glacial exposure of the coastal plane, while still submerged, enabled deposition of marine sediment. Known as the Presumpscot Formation, these sediments take the form of compact, "clay-like", grey blue silt, either in layers or reworked (i.e., mixed) as a result of post-glacial erosional activity.

Located in Camden's extreme southwest corner, the sites tested and reported herein, lie on the high, elevated southern margin of a short, relatively shallow, but steep walled valley. More specifically, the sites sit upwards of 140' in elevation, along the northern margin of a large, peninsular, limestone formation overlooking the aforementioned shallow valley to the north, and a broad, flat bottomed valley to the south, associated with the Goose River (Figure 3).

The limestone formation noted above is part of the Rockport Limestone Belt, which underlies much of the immediate region. Berry (2001) identifies that "this [Rockport] limestone formation is in contrast to the predominantly quartzite formation/s of Mt. Battie and Mt. Megunticook to the north." And, "while the Rockland-Camden region is locally known for its limestone quarries, there are none in the Camden Hills" (Berry 1987).

It is noteworthy that the limestone industry, which powered the economics of the mid-coast for over two centuries, depended largely upon a highly concentrated, and geographically limited resource. Competition from extra-regional limestone quarrying and exploitation was a "non-issue"; mid-coast Maine essentially had a monopoly on limestone in the broader region.

> "The [Rockport Limestone] belt can be traced for a distance of [only] about two and one-half miles from near the end of Beauchamp Point northward and thence northwestward almost to Route 137 (see Map II). North of Rockport village the belt has a width of nearly 1000 yards. *Northwest of Simonton Corners (not shown on map) the limestone reappears at the surface over a relatively small area where in the past it has been quite extensively quarried... The thickness of the limestone is unknown. Jacobs*

> *quarry [located at Simonton Corners], now abandoned, represents the greatest quarry depth attained in the whole area. Here limestone has been quarried from a depth in excess of 550 feet* [italic added]… [The Rockport Limestone Belt] agricultural limestone reserves exceed 11,000,000 tons per 1OO feet of depth."

Of note – the above mentioned Simonton Corners is only one mile southwest of Merryspring Nature Center, and lies along the same, 18th/ 19thc. Warren Road (Mitchell, 2019) that passed in front of both ME 073.014 and .015.

The Goose River, situated ¾ of a mile south of the tested sites, is a small, but significant watershed within the immediate region. It is paralleled by the larger, Megunticook drainage farther north in Camden. Like Megunticook River, Goose River drains the low mountains to the west/northwest. And, just as with Megunticook, Goose River flows nearly five miles through the interior, to exit into a natural, south-southeast facing harbor, and West Penobscot Bay.

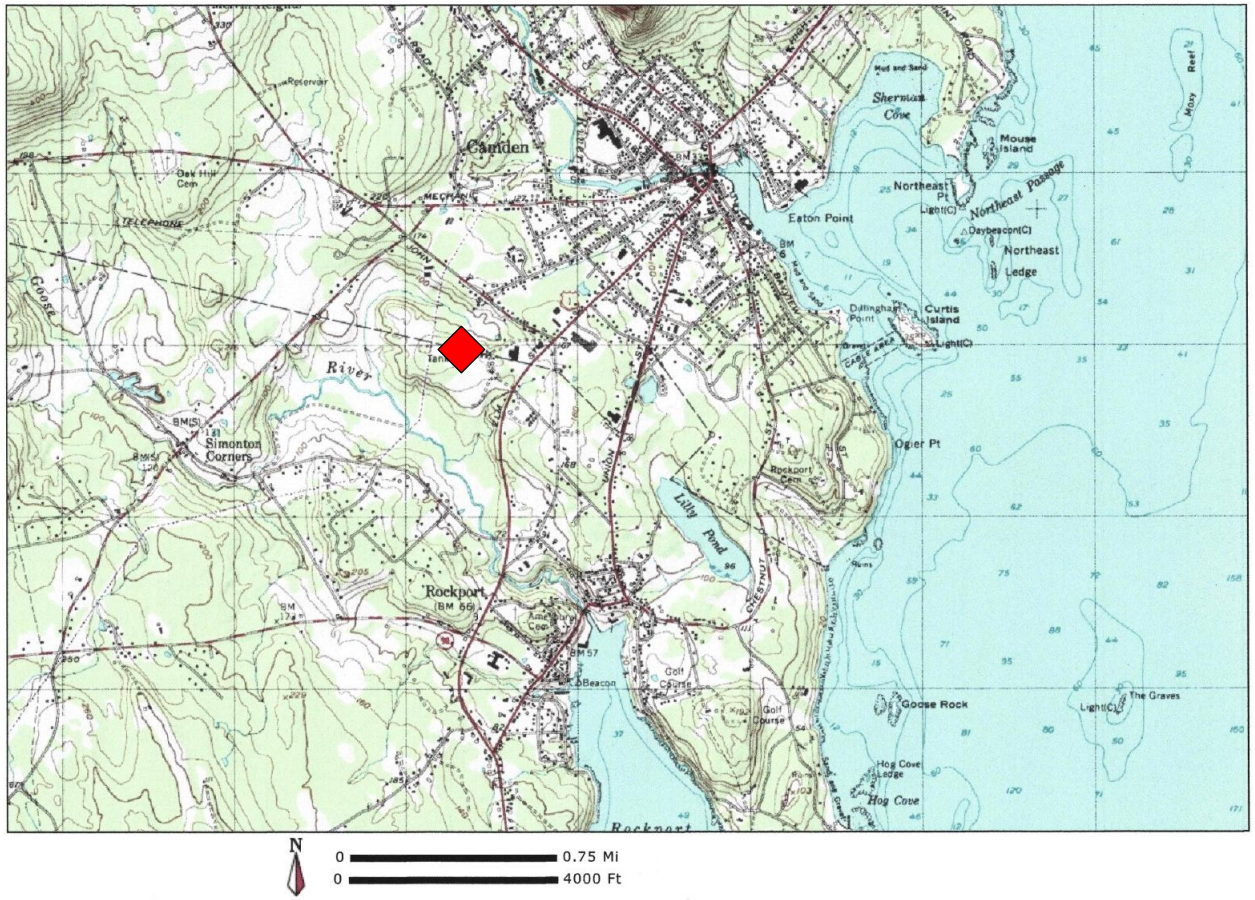

Figure 3: Camden and Rockport region (red diamond is Merryspring Nature Center)

Historic Cultural Context
16th and 17thc. Europeans in mid-coast Maine

The Spanish/Portuguese

In 1524 A.D., Giovanni da Verazanno, an Italian navigator in the service of France, sailed in search of a new route westward from Europe to Asia (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2019). His journey took him to the United States' southern coast, from which he sailed northward to the coast of Maine and Nova Scotia. Shortly thereafter (c.1525 A.D.), Estaban Gomez, a Portuguese cartographer in the service of Spain, sailed the Maine coast (Wikipedia 2019). His 1525 mapping effort eventually resulted in the development of the 1529 world map, *Diogo Ribeiro*, identifying the Gulf of Maine and coastal United states in remarkable detail.

The English

It is clear from numerous sources, both historic and archaeological, that an early, 16thc. European presence existed in the Gulf of Maine. Further, it is likely that such a presence extended into mid-coast Maine as early as the mid-16th c., if not earlier (Cranmer 1990:5 citing Morison 1971). However, "it is certain that the Indians along the Maine coast, including those in the Kennebec River region, experienced more frequent contact with Europeans after the turn of the [17th] century. Samuel de Champlain was the first to describe a visit to the Kennebec in 1604" (Cranmer 1990:5). The Popham Colony, "established at the mouth of the Kennebec River… was the first well-founded English claim to the river" (Cranmer 1990:6), c. 1607 (Baker 1985) (Morrison 2002). By the 1650's, English development of Maine's coast by Major Thomas Clarke and Captain Thomas Lake, included a trading company (the Clarke and Lake Company) at the mouth of the Kennebec River (Baker 1985).

By the late 1690's, the English had expanded their "footprint", establishing a trading post on the St. George River, in what is today, Thomaston, Maine.

> "The agents of the Muscongus Patent worked energetically to establish a new community along the banks of the St. George River. …in 1655, the entire [Muscongus] Patent passed on to Thomas Leverett. Little had been done with the patent during the seventeenth century with the exception of establishing a trading post in what is now Thomaston, and a fishing station directly on the coast." (Dekker 2015:56, 57).

The French

The French were equally as invested in coastal Maine waters, though in terms of permanent settlement, French occupation of the region occurred slightly later than initial English efforts.

> "In 1604**,** a French expedition led by merchant adventurer Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts, and including geographer and cartographer Samuel de Champlain, arrived off the coast of what is today southwestern Nova Scotia. After exploration of the Bay of Fundy, a settlement was established on Saint Croix Island. During the summer and early fall of 1604, Champlain ventured along the mid-Maine coast as far as Georges River [present-day Thomaston, Maine]." (Hornsbey 2005)

Fort Pentagoet (c. 1635), located in French "Acadia", or the Penobscot Bay and Penobscot River region, had, as its purpose, "to defend a variety of local enterprises –the fur trade, ship building, a mill and a farmstead." (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:3).

While possession of Pentagoet alternated between the French and English over time, and Pentagoet was finally "leveled to the ground" by the Dutch in 1674 (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:3), a French presence continued in Penobscot Bay into the 18th c. The French retained control of "Acadia" until 1713, when it was ceded to the English (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987). Even then, however, "Acadian Maine was not actually settled by the English… until 1759" (i.e., Fort Pownall) (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:3).

Further archaeological evidence for an early European presence in mid-coast Maine is found in an otherwise Native American site located along the littoral in Ducktrap (Lincolnville), Maine. Ten miles north of Camden, along Ducktrap's shoreline, archaeological testing resulted in the recovery of a funnel angle elbow, export model, clay tobacco pipe (Mitchell 1990). This pipe form is consistent with those recovered directly across Penobscot Bay from Ducktrap, and associated with the third occupation of Fort Pentagoet, c. 1670-1674 (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987).

18th c. Europeans in mid-coast Maine

English

By 1720, the English established both a trading post and a small settlement at what is today, Thomaston, on the St. George River, in mid-coast Maine (Mitchell and Bock 2019). In 1759, Governor Thomas Pownall, having traveled north from Boston, established a fort at present-day Cape Jellison, in Stockton Springs, Maine. Thus, in just over a century, the English came to militarily dominate all of Maine's coastal region up to, and including East and West Penobscot Bays.

By 1764, not only were the English in full control of the Gulf of Maine waters, but roadways were surveyed and under construction throughout the interior. A major, trans-regional connector, the so-called "fort-to-fort" road was ordered surveyed and cut by Governor Francis Bernard, in 1764. Much of the "fort-to-fort" road, and subsequent 18th and 19th c. road building efforts, remain today as present-day coastal Route 1, and numerous major and secondary highways throughout the region (e.g., Old County Road in Rockland and Rockport).

Germans

Although not impactful, relative to the English advance into Penobscot Bay and the broader mid-coast region, or English military and political dominance of the region, the Germans none-the-less made inroads into the mid-coast in ways that forever influenced not only the mid-coast's future and culture, but the country's as well.

While the specific date is in some dispute, as many as "forty German families" arrived in Broad Bay (present-day Waldoboro), Maine, in 1740 (Eaton 1877:65), or 1739 (Miller 1910). And, according to at least one source, "Samuel Waldo, of the Waldo Patent, actively recruited about *1,500* [italics added] Germans settlers to the Broad Bay area of Maine in the 1750s." (Maine Historical Society 2000-2019). However, German settlement in the region was not without it problems. According to the Maine Historical Society,

> "A neighboring land claim by the Pemaquid Proprietors disrupted the German settlement in Waldoboro in the late 1700s. The Pemaquid Proprietors claimed the land west of the Medomak [River] was theirs, not Waldo's, and therefore settlers must re-acquire their homes from the Pemaquid Proprietors, at a price." (2000-2019).

Regardless of 18th c. political and legal entanglements, by the early 1770's Germans were firmly established in what is today, Waldoboro, Maine. And, by the mid-1780's, German families would move out of Broad Bay, settle elsewhere in the region, and spread their influence across all of mid-coast Maine (see Mitchell 2015; and Hubert 2014).

Historic Regional Context – Waldoboro to Stockton Springs
Coastal Communities

Broad Bay (Waldoboro)

Beginning in approximately 1740, Germans began immigrating to Maine. Encouraged by Samuel Waldo, German immigrants arrived expecting to find livable conditions, only

to find no housing or shelter of any kind, no established colony or previous arrivals, and no food or crops.

> "This colony… numbered about fifty people, arrived in the waters of Broad Bay in the autumn of 1748, probably in November. The place of their landing became known as Schenck's Point… Those pioneers gazed out upon that expansion of the [Medomak] river, which rightly derived the name of Broad Bay, while behind them was the unbroken, path-less wilderness, with not an acre cleared nor a house standing.
>
> The vessel in which they came sailed away, and they were left to face the stern realities of their condition. The severe winter of this climate was upon them; they were without shelter and scantily supplied with provisions. Hastily constructed log huts provided the only protection from the inclemency of the season." (Miller 1910:25, 26).

Over time, the viability of the colony ebbed and flowed. While some left for warmer climes, others spread out across the region.

Thomaston

Established in approximately 1720, Thomaston became one of the richest and most prosperous communities in Maine, well into the 19th c. Beginning in the very early 18th c. (or possibly late 17th c.) a trade house of some form was established likely near the water's edge.

As time went by, and conflict threatened the opportunity for trade, the trading company built blockhouses. Historic records indicate two such blockhouses existed in the general area. Historic descriptions indicate the blockhouses were connected by a palisade which enclosed the area between them, forming a parade ground-like area. At about the same time, a double sawmill was constructed on nearby Mill River.

In 1722, historic accounts indicate a group of 200 Native Americans engaged in a "furious attack" on the blockhouses. While they did not overwhelm the blockhouses, they did burn sawmills and homes. On August 24th of the same year, an even larger group of Native Americans, with several French Europeans, attacked the blockhouses again, this time, for 12 days straight. The attack was again, unsuccessful. Then, for a third time, the Native Americans and Europeans found themselves in conflict. In 1745 the blockhouses were attacked. A garrison house, or fortified home, along with the mills on Mill River, were destroyed, yet again.

But it was clear to the English settlers that the Native Americans, encouraged by the French, were likely to continue attacking them. So, in 1754, Fort St. Georges was constructed. It was a massive structure, and looked much like what we might expect a fort to look like. Its walls were 16 feet tall, 20 inches thick, and 100 feet long. However, by the late 1760's conflict subsided.

Ship building in Thomaston became an economic engine throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Additionally, Thomaston's early 18th, 19th , and 20th century lime industry brought fame and fortune. As early as 1759, Governor Pownall, on his way to Stockton Spring to build Fort Pownall, stopped in Thomaston to procure lime for mortar.

Over time, however, Thomaston suffered economically. Lime fell out of favor as a desired product. And shipping vessels became too large to construct in the shallow waters of Thomaston's harbor. By the late 19th c., Rockland, Rockport, Camden, and other small towns to the northeast, with better locations and harbors, deeper waters, greater flowing water power, and similar natural resources (e.g., lime), became enormously prosperous, while Thomaston moved steadily toward decline.

Lincolnville

While mid to late 17th c. European presence in the general area is documented archaeologically (Mitchell 1990), the first historically recorded permanent European settler in Lincolnville was Nathan Knight in the year 1770.

Knight arrived from Squam Island, and settled in a region which, while part of the Waldo patent, had not been surveyed, and legal title was not often attained. In the late 1790's and early 1800's Henry Knox, the legally upheld owner of all of the Waldo Patent, including Lincolnville, forced all non legally entitled land owner to either pay him in full or mortgage their lands. Many left, simply abandoning years, even decades of effort developing family farms.

Lincolnville, and especially the Ducktrap Harbor area, developed rapidly after the Revolutionary War. A number of industries developed, for example, saw mills and lime kilns. Lincolnville prospered well into the 19th c., after which it, like so many other coastal communities, fell into decline. The Civil War, having taken so many of its men, forced families to abandon their homes and farms. As a community, Lincolnville did not reach its pre-Civil War population levels again until the late 20th c. (Mitchell 1992).

Northport

Little is known of early settlement in Northport. But at least one story tells of a family in Ducktrap Harbor (Lincolnville) in the early 1770's.

> "Robert Miller, of Belfast, [came] to Camden by boat with grist, and on his return stopping at a cabin at "Duck Trap," which was the only house then in Northport, to get his dinner prepared. He found the family sick and destitute, having had nothing to eat but clams for several days. Returning to his boat he brought back and supplied them with half his bag of meal, prepared a repast, of which he partook with them, and went on to his home, happy in the knowledge that it is more blessed to give than to receive." (Robinson 1907)

As the Minot grist mill in Camden was not operational until at least 1771, Miller's encounter must post date 1771. Thus it is clear that some number of homesteaders were indeed settled in the Northport region by at least c. 1770.

Belfast

Belfast was first settled in 1770 "by Scots–Irish families from Londonderry, New Hampshire" (Belfast Historical Society and Museum 2020). During the Revolutionary War and, specifically, after the failed attack on the British in Castine by Continental forces, c.1779, Belfast lay abandoned for a number of years. After the war ended, however, Belfast repopulated, grew, and became an economic engine in the region. As with so many coastal communities, fishing, farming, shipbuilding, and timber were its main 18th and 19th c. pursuits.

> "Abundant timber, a gently sloping waterfront and proximity to varied agriculture gave rise to shipbuilding and maritime commerce, with fortunes made in both. Hundreds of wooden sailing ships were built by local shipyards and, during the 19th century, as much as 30% of the male population was employed in the maritime trades." (Belfast Historical Society and Museum 2020)

Monroe

Monroe, lying 20 to 25 miles from Ducktrap and the interior Lincolnville area, and only a few miles interior and north of Belfast, Maine, represents some of the earliest documented European occupation in the region. Monroe's occupation appears to have taken place by at least 1766, prior to Lincolnville's earliest recorded home, and only a few years after Pownall's troops marched through Lincolnville and Ducktrap, c. 1759.

"When it was found that the garrison at Fort Pownall afforded protection and security, the tide of immigration grew. Between 1760 and 1772, all of the towns along the shores of the Penobscot Bay and River saw an increase in settlement. From Camden to Bangor on the one side and from Brewer to Castine on the other side.

It was about this time, most likely in the early 1760's, that a John Couillard arrived in Frankfort with his wife, Mary (Mock) and their young children. It is reported that John Couillard owned one of only two log houses in the area in 1766. John had been born in Gloucester, MA on November 5, 1728, the son of Lt. John Couillard. Lt. Couillard had moved his family up to Arrowsic Island, near Georgetown, ME, and most likely was involved in commercial fishing and farming. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the son, John, was also involved in fishing and, perhaps, trading in Frankfort.

At this time in history, the fur of the beaver was a precious commodity and early settlers to Maine often traded with the local Indian tribes for beaver and other furs. It was also true that John's younger brother, James Couillard, served in the garrison at Fort Pownall in 1759, and may have described the beauty and opportunities available in the Penobscot region." (no author)

Stockton Springs

Stockton Springs first saw development as a British military complex (c. 1759), involving the area which today includes Cape Jellison, and the "neck" connecting it to the mainland. Many of today's Stockton Springs and Searsport residents not only trace their ancestry back to Fort Pownall, but still carry their ancestral names (e.g., Staples)

The Making of Camden

The Proprietors

Thomas Leverett and the Ten Associates

During the 17th and 18th centuries a number of patents, awarded by the crown, resulted in the sub-division of mid-coastal Maine. Of greatest relevance to this effort is the Muscongus Patent.

"In 1629, the Council of Plymouth awarded the Musongus or Lincolnshire patent to Thomas Leverett of Boston and John Beauchamp of London, England. Upon Beauchamp's death, in 1655, the entire patent passed on to Thomas Leverett." (Dekker 2015:57).

The Muscongus Patent included all the land between the Muscongus and Penobscot Rivers, and as far into the interior as included an area of 900 square miles (Robinson 1907), essentially all of present-day Knox and Waldo counties, and part of Lincoln county. After Thomas Leverett's death in 1650, the entire patent passed down sequentially from father to son until, ultimately, ending up in the hands of Thomas Leverett's great-grandson, John Leverett, president of Harvard College (Dekker 2015; Robinson 1907). "In 1719…not possessing the funds to adequately underwrite the development of the Muscongus Patent on his own, [John] Leverett divided his holdings into ten shares." (Dekker 2015). This division of shares is described as follows:

> "One share was given to Spencer Phips, an adopted son and heir of Sir William Phips, who had in May 1694 bought this land from Indian Chief Madockawando, unaware of the existence of the Muscongus Grant. This cleared up conflicting claims between the Leveretts and the Phips'. Two shares were given to Elisha Cook; one share to a son of Gov. Bradford; one each to Nathaniel Hubbard, Hannah Davis, Rebecca Lloyd and Sarah Byefield, descendants of the original Thomas Leverett. Two share he kept for himself. This group was known as the 'Ten Associates' [aka, ten Proprietors]." (Camden Public Library, no date).

The Waldo Patent and Surveys

The 1719 division of the Muscongus Patent into ten shares, and the establishment of the "Ten Associates" (or alternatively, the "Ten Proprietors"), set into motion a series of events which would ultimately lead to the 1768 creation of Lot 71, a 100 acre parcel of land on which the subjects of this report, ME 073.014 and ME 073.015, are located (Figure 4 – red square). Soon after the initial distribution of ten shares in the Muscongus Patent, twenty additional shares (the Twenty Associates) were distributed, bringing the total membership in the association to thirty (i.e., the Ten Proprietors and Twenty Associates).

The additional twenty associates included, among others, Samuel Waldo's father and brother, Jonathan and Cornelius, respectively (Robinson 1907). This inherited relationship eventually led to Samuel Waldo becoming the thirty associates' agent. As compensation for his work as their agent, the thirty associates gave Waldo one half of the entire Muscongus Patent – 300,000 acres (Robinson 1907)! The remainder was then divided into two large tracts, 100,000 acres for the Ten Proprietors, and 200,000 acres for the Twenty Associates. Thus, in 1729, Samuel Waldo became the controlling shareholder of the Muscongus Patent (Wikipedia 2019). From thence forth Waldo's portion of the Muscongus Patent was called the Waldo Patent.

In 1768, in an effort to encourage settlement and settle boundary issues with the Twenty Associates, the whole of the Waldo Patent was surveyed and sub-divided (the Fales survey). The Fales survey encompassed the whole of present-day Camden and Rockport, Maine, and resulted in the establishment of dozens of large, individual parcels, many as large as 100 acres. One such 100 acre parcel was Lot 71, on which the subjects of this report are located.

After the Revolutionary War, The Twenty Associates, and the 1768 subdivision of the Waldo Patent into individual lots, remained in force. In 1785, however, as a result of his marriage to a direct heir to Samuel Waldo, the courts awarded the entire Waldo Patent to Henry Knox (Robinson 1907)! In 1798, Knox commissioned a survey of his holdings, designed solely to identify the patent's gross internal and peripheral boundaries. In 1799, utilizing David Fales' survey as a foundation (c. 1768), John Harkness undertook yet another survey of the patent. The 1799, so called "Harkness Survey", not only identified the internal, Twenty Associates' sub-division of the patent (lots), but individual 1799 lot owners, and some roads as well.

Henry Knox benefitted from his legally derived land acquisition until his death in 1806. Subsequently, poor management and a lack of business acumen forced the Knox family's fortunes to decline, resulting in the sale of their once vast land holdings. By the late 1800's little more than the two county names of "Knox" and "Waldo", and a few grave stones remained as reminders of the once powerful presence of the Waldo's, and Henry Knox and his family.

In 1811, a road survey, involving a small portion of today's Camden and Rockport, clearly identifies Lot 71 of the Waldo Patent as belonging to Asa Hosmer. The survey, undertaken by Capt. Hosea Bates (Bates 1811), was initiated as part of an effort to bypass a section of the 18th c. Warren Road west of Asa Hosmer's farm.

Initial Settlement

As a town, Camden has changed dramatically in the last 250 years. Prior to 1769, Camden was essentially undeveloped, though not unknown, and separated two English strongholds, Fort Pownall in Stockton Springs, and Fort St. George in Thomaston (18th c. St. George).

At the time of his arrival in Thomaston, Maine, in May, 1759, Massachusetts Governor Thomas Pownall understood there was a need for a fort at the mouth of the Penobscot River, over forty mile overland from Thomaston. But, Pownall also understood the need to maintain a sense of order within the territory. Wanting to connect the two forts, but

recognizing the need to be in good relations with the Native American population in the region, Pownall called together the local Native American leadership, considered their concerns, and promised them safety under the English flag (Pownall 1759).

Within days, Pownall traveled to Stockton Springs, and in a matter of a few weeks had erected not one, but two small redoubts, cut a .3 mile long road from shore to shore across "the neck" of Cape Jellison at "the carry" (i.e., landing site and portage route), cut a 1.5 mile long road from the initial redoubt on the "neck" to a second redoubt, and constructed Fort Pownall. Between newly constructed Fort Pownall, and Fort St. Georges in Thomaston, lay nearly 50 miles of relatively unexplored, and totally undeveloped forest, of which Camden made up about 25%.

North to south, 18th c. Camden extended roughly 10 mile, from what is today, the Glen Cove area of Rockport (just north of Rockland, Maine) to about mid-way between modern Camden and Lincolnville Beach, Maine (Figure 4). To the west, Camden extended only a few miles into the interior. By 1768, the so-called "first division" (i.e., survey) of the Waldo Patent had been completed, and incorporated no less than 70 lots upwards of 100 acre apiece, including Lot 71 (Figure 4 – red square). The "first division's" western boundary was a line roughly northeast/southwest incorporating Lot 71's western margin (Figure 4 – red line); all lots within this "first division" were parallel or perpendicular to that line.

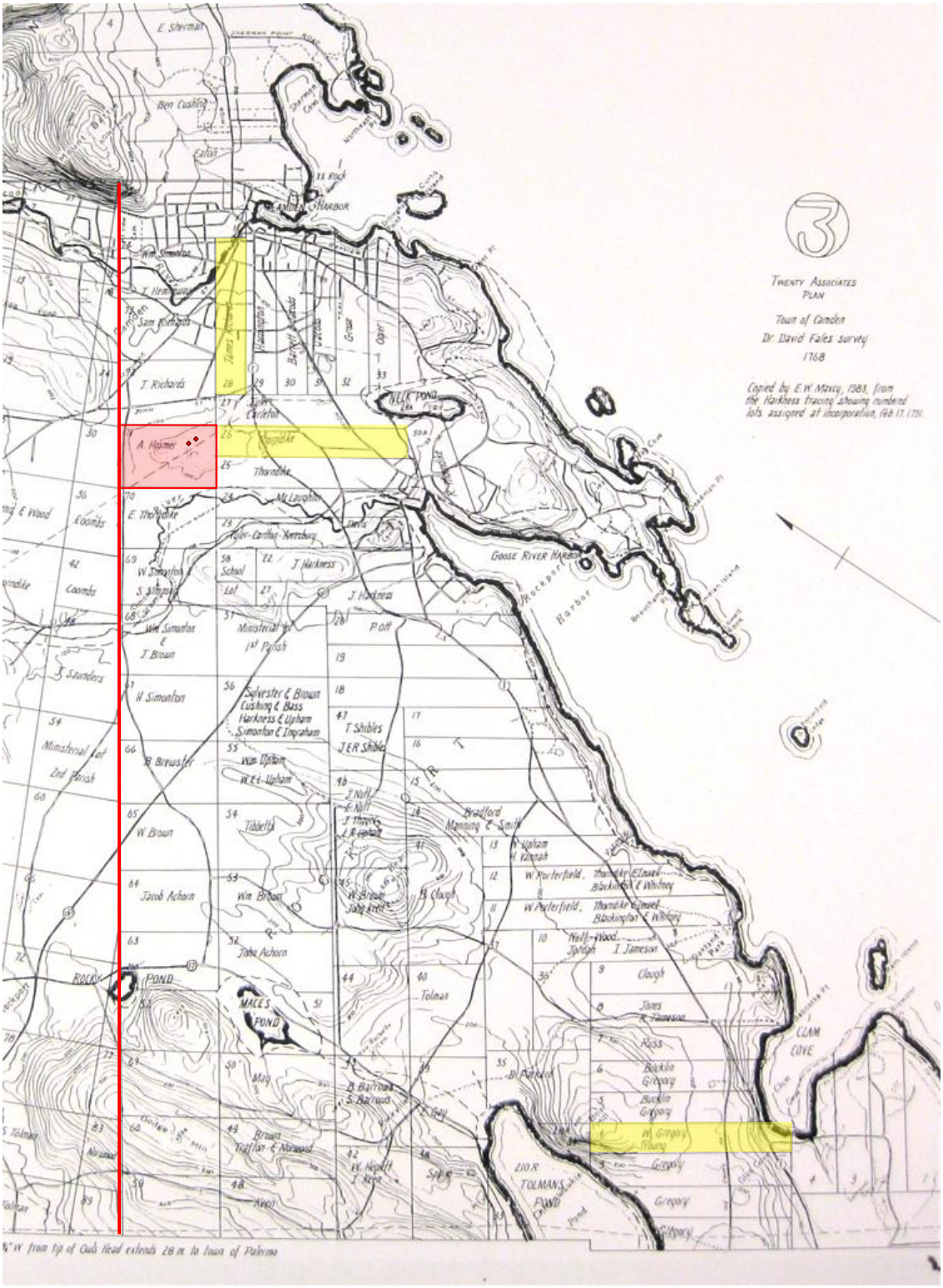

Figure 4: First Twenty Associates survey of Camden (c. 1769)
(courtesy of Camden Public Library)

Although permission was granted to numerous individuals by the Twenty Associates (Delano 2009), historic records indicate first actual European settlement (c.1768-1769) included perhaps as few as 10 individuals, on only three lots (Robinson 1907) (Figure 4 – yellow rectangles) . And, while much of mid-Maine's coastal settlement pattern involved the littoral, or immediately adjacent property, generally (e.g. Thomaston), neither of 18th c. Camden's harbors (modern Camden and Rockport Harbors) were developed. Rather, initial settlement took place interior to 18th c. Camden's coastal shoreline. Indeed, the first three settled lots (4, 26, and 28) have no viable access to the water's edge (Figure 4 – yellow rectangles)

Given that most, if not all 17th and 18th c. first settlement in Maine began and developed immediately along the littoral, then moved inland, the question begs, "What was different about Camden; why does Camden's first settlement pattern differ so dramatically from other, contemporary first settlement?" The answer, the author believes, is two-fold - the initial English military's strategic relationship to control of the region, and the yeoman prioritization of agriculture over entrepreneurship.

A Trans-Regional Highway - The "Fort-To-Fort" Road

As noted earlier, Governor Thomas Pownall understood the strategic need to maintain a geographically interior relationship between Fort St. Georges in Thomaston and Fort Pownall in Stockton Springs – an interior, fort-to-fort route. While several factors likely played into this need, paramount among them was almost certainly access to deep water ocean landing sites between the forts. Left unprotected by, or inaccessible to English troops on the ground, an encroaching force had the ability to establish a beachhead stronghold without resistance. Several such opportunities presented themselves between Thomaston and Stockton Springs – present-day Glen Cove, present-day Camden and Rockport Harbors, present-day Lincolnville Beach, and present-day Belfast Harbor. To secure the territory, a road was required between the forts.

In the early 1760's, Pownall, and his successor, Governor Bernard, initiated surveys of several interior routes between the forts. Geographic obstacles, such as mountains and lakes, naturally affected these routes, with the result that a direct, straight-line route was not possible. However, early 1760's period maps indicate two integrated routes were established, such that, both interior and coastal mid-Maine were (or would be) accessible by either a *foot trail* through the interior hills and lake region, or a more coastal oriented *road*.

In 1764, Governor Bernard ordered the "fort-to-fort" road cut (i.e., developed) (Figure 5). While it is not known precisely when the road was cut, evidence suggests that major portions, *involving significant engineering*, were developed by the mid to late 1760's. Visual evidence for an English *engineered* road is found on Cape Jellison, in Stockton Springs. There, an abandoned, well developed, partially raised roadbed connects Fort Pownall with the initial redoubt constructed at "the carry", 1.5miles away on the "neck". It is also likely the road represents the northern end of the so-called "fort-to-fort" road (Bock personal communication).

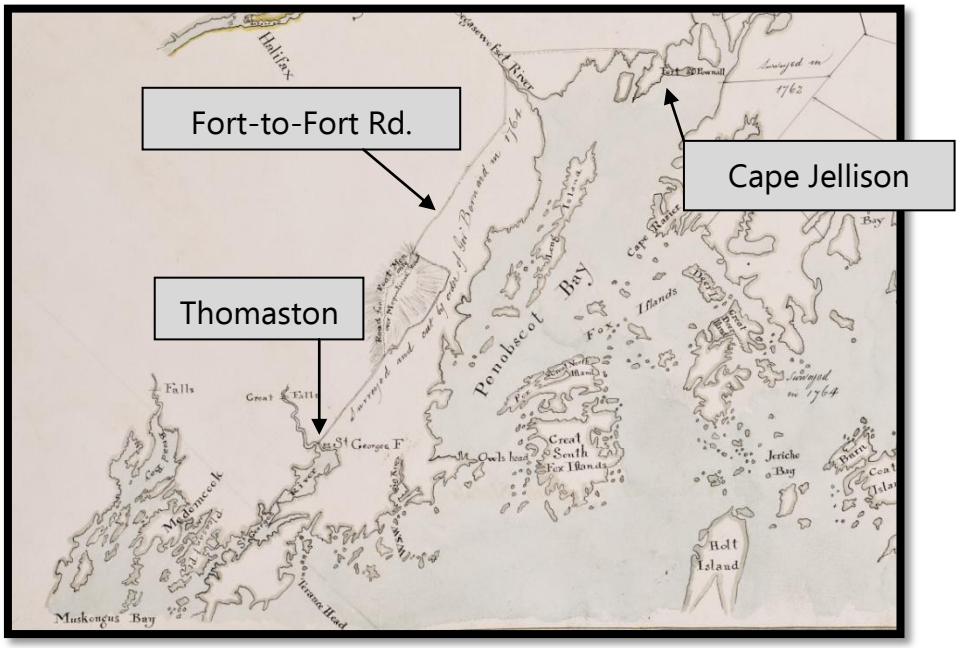

Figure 5: Governor Bernard's Fort-to-Fort Road (c. 1764)

Additional evidence for a trans-regional, engineered "fort-to-fort" road was recently discovered in Rockport, Maine, by the author. An historic remnant of an early engineered road survives to this day as an elevated, roadbed and stone bridge traversing a hay field and drainage immediately west of the current effort (Mitchell 2019a).

The evidence to date strongly suggests the English had not only the desire for, but invested in a well engineered trans-regional roadway in coastal mid-Maine. And, whether by conscious intent or not, such a "fort-to-fort" road not only facilitated England's immediate goal of connecting and securing the broader geographic region, but facilitated another, equally important goal – settlement.

The Warren Road

In 2017, research un-related to this effort brought to light an 1811 survey (Figure 6). The survey was designed to bypass a portion of un-named road leading to present-day Camden, from interior Rockport to the west. Subsequently, while pursuing deed research related to archaeological testing at the Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.017), located along the same road as Merryspring Nature Center, the author realized the road, of which a section was to be bypassed in the 1811 survey, was the road referred to in 19th c. deed as "the road to Warren", or alternatively, "the Warren Road". It also became clear the Warren Road, and its bypass/extension, were one-and-the-same-as present-day Park Street in Rockport and Simonton Road (the bypass/extension) in Camden. And, the bypassed portion of the Warren Road *cut directly through Lot 71 from one end to the other, west to east* (Figure 7).

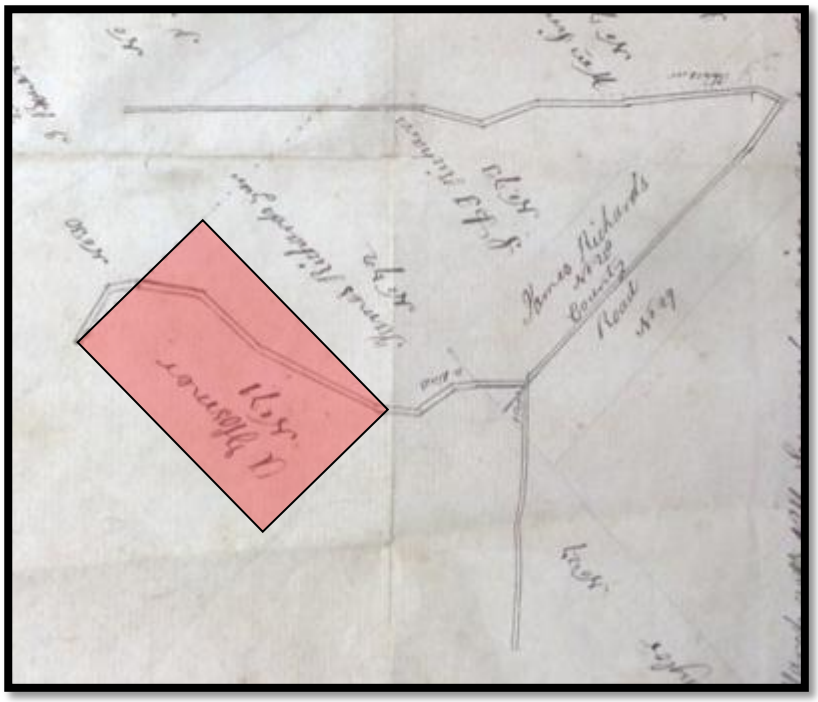

Figure 6: 1811 Survey bypassing the Warren Road
(red rectangle is Lot 71 – the Asa Hosmer Farm)

Continued research identified two additional facts: 1) present-day Thomaston was, in the 18th and 19th centuries, largely part of Warren; and 2) the Warren Road, was, in fact an 18th c. trans-regional route leading from present-day Camden directly to Thomaston, 12 miles to the southwest. Historic anecdotal evidence reveals that the first Camden settlers in the geographic area involving the current effort, traveled to Warren (i.e., Thomaston), to have their corn ground at the mill there, and did so on foot, via a well

established “trail”, c. 1769-1771 (Camden’s own grist mill was operational by 1772) (Robinson1907).

When combined, all the various mapping, historic, and anecdotal insights above led the author to conclude that:

1) present-day Park Street/Simonton Road junction, at the Camden/Rockport boundary, is the Warren Road and its 1811 extension;

2) that the route from present-day Camden to 18th c. Warren existed in the 1760’s as a well known and well developed route through the interior;

3) that the 19th c. Warren Road is, in fact, the 18th c. “fort-to-fort” road;

4) the “fort-to-fort” trans-regional highway was in place and fully functional at Camden’s initial settlement in 1769.

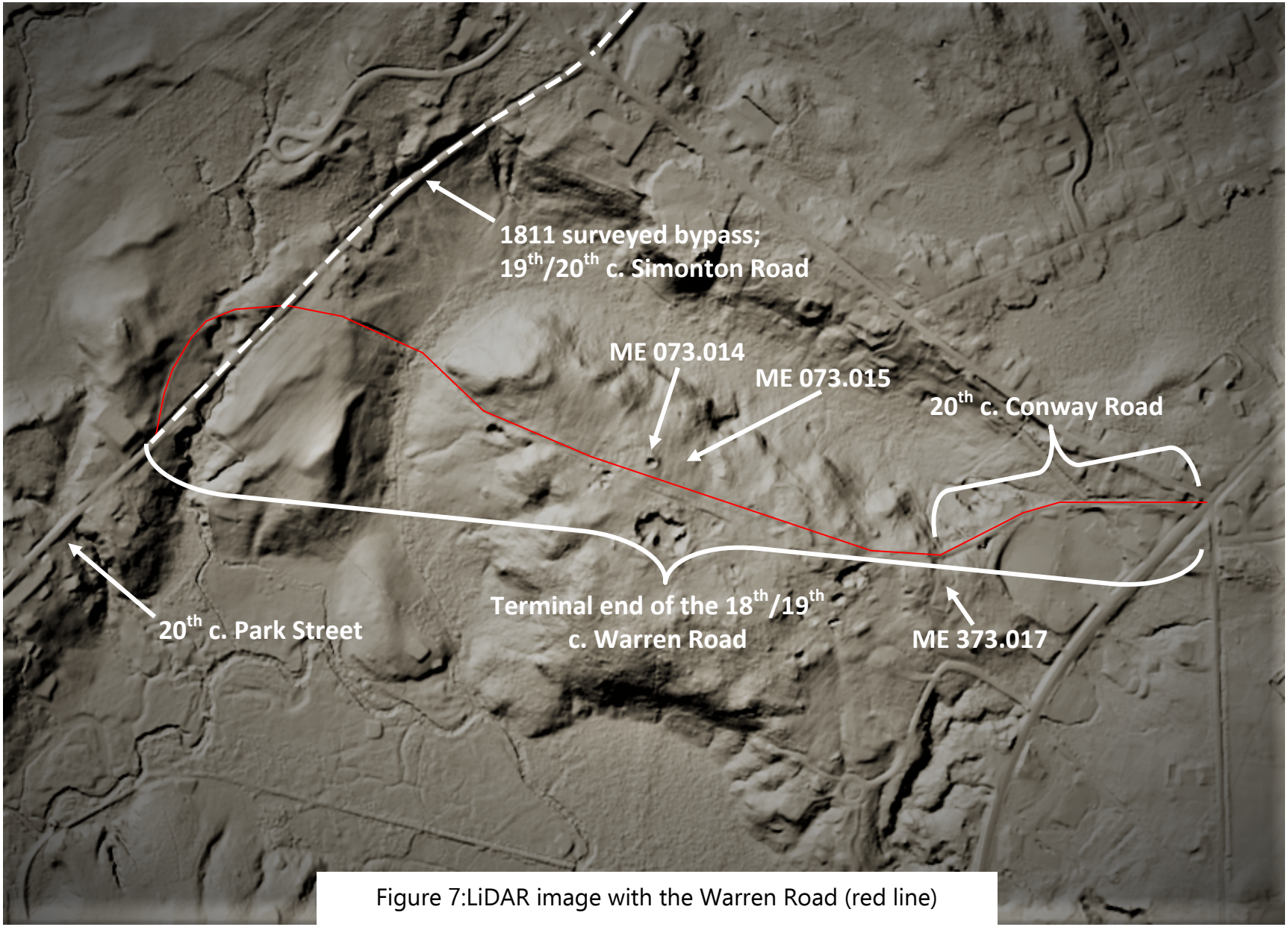

Figure 7:LiDAR image with the Warren Road (red line)

The Twenty Associates and Urban Planning

In considering why ME 073.014 and .015 are where they are, it became apparent that the Thorndike-Conway House, along with several other 18th and 19th c. deed-referenced home sites, cluster in the same general area. The author hypothesized that the Twenty Associates, being fully aware of the existence of the "fort-to-fort" road, may have intentionally taken advantage of the road's presence, and deliberately planned Camden's initial layout accordingly.

Review of the 1768 Fales survey, and the subsequent Harkness survey (c. 1799), indicates very few of the Twenty Associates' Camden lots are "landlocked". That is, the overwhelming majority possess, on one end of the lot or the other, either road or ocean water frontage. Indeed, the area of interest specific to this effort clearly indicates a portion of the Warren/"fort-to-fort" Road follows a perfectly straight line overlying the western boundary to the Twenty Associates' "first division" of Camden. The road/ western boundary line bounds not only Lot 71's western margin, but affords full road frontage for several other 100 acre lots, for approximately 1.5 miles.

Further reinforcing the perception of an 18th c. urban plan is:

1) the mapped placement of necessary 18th c. "municipal" resources within both the first division (and later second division), specifically, the town's school lot, two ministerial lots, and, later, the town hall, involve three of the few interior, landlocked/less desirable (?) lots;

2) all the above municipal needs are adjacent to one another, and located roughly in the geographic center of 18th c. Camden;

3) a 19th c. deed indicates the Camden town pound was located in or near the town's geographic center, on a bridle path which went "by Frederick Conway's" (Knox Registry of Deeds, Book 40, page 98), (i.e., the Thorndike-Conway House – ME 373.017) only a few hundred yards distant from E 073.014 and .015 (Mitchell 2016, 2017, 2018); and

4) no less than four separate lots, later subdivided into much smaller ones, converge where the Warren/"fort-to-fort" Road emerges from Lot 71's southeast corner.

Historic Ownership of Lot 71

Deeds, Mortgages, and Commercial Agreements

The first identified deed associated with Lot 71, transferred ownership from one Michael Shays to Joseph Hardy. Hardy, having sold land on Seven Hundred Acre Island, in Penobscot Bay, in April, 1791, purchased Lot71 from Michael Shays (Delano 2007) for thirty pounds (Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 30: 67). Other than the official U.S. census of 1790, there is no earlier record found to date indicating that Michael Shays lived in Camden, who he was, where he came from, or how he came to possess Lot 71. This last unknown may well have come back to haunt subsequent owners of Lot 71.

Joseph Hardy, and his entire family, apparently being destitute, and to avoid the Hardy's becoming town burdens financially, were required by Camden to leave town one year after purchasing Lot 71. In December, 1793, Hardy sold Lot 71 to one William Gregory, Jr., son of one of Camden's first settlers, for twenty pounds (Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 31, page 118).

On February 29, 1796, Joseph Pierce (clerk for the Twenty Associate), on behalf of the Twenty Associates, gave Lot 71 to Reverend William Walter of Boston (Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 39, page 95). While Walter came to possess several lots in the area, this granting of Lot 71 is unusual, as William Gregory, Jr. having purchased it only two year earlier, was presumably still the owner at the time.

The author hypothesizes that Michael Shays may not have had clear title; Michael Shays may well have been a Revolutionary War soldier who arrived in Camden, saw a vacant structure, and simply squatted for several years. This was a common practice at the time, a practice which came back to haunt many local landowners throughout the region when Henry Knox gained ownership of the Waldo Patent and demanded payment or mortgage.

At some point, the Twenty Associates may have realized no rightful title had ever been transferred to or from previous owners, and seeing an opportunity, gave title to William Walter for his service to the Twenty Associates.

In any case, now having title to Lot 71, on March 22, 1797 (Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 46, page 30), William Walter enters into a contractual agreement with one Elisha Gibbs. In that agreement (i.e., mortgage) Gibbs agrees to pay $500 within a four year period for ownership of Lot 71. Unfortunately for Gibbs, William Walter dies December 5, 1800 (Hayward 1847).

Only five months later, on May 18, 1801, having probated William Walter's will, and in spite of Elisha Gibbs' previous agreement with Walter, Walter's executors sold Lot 71 to attorneys Nathaniel F. Fosdick and Isaac Parker, of Portland, Maine, for $630.80. In the deed, Elisha Gibbs is specifically noted as the lot's then current tenant ("…the same lot on which Elisha Gibbs now lives." [Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 47, page 25]).

Roughly two years later, on July 28, 1803, Asa Hosmer purchases Lot 71 from Nathaniel F. Fosdick for $1200. At that time, Elisha Gibbs is noted in the deed as no longer living on Lot 71 – "…on which Elisha Gibbs formerly lived, being numbered seventy one…" (Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 52, page 130). In a separate agreement, dated August 20, 1803, Asa Hosmer mortgages the lot, borrowing $800 from the same Nathaniel F. Fosdick, with the proviso that the $800 is to be paid back, half in six months and half in twelve months (Vol. 52, page 130).

(As an aside, Asa Hosmer is noted as purchasing Lot 69, adjacent to Lot 71, for $800, on May 16, 1805 [Lincoln Registry of Deed, Vol. 63, no page number]. On July 8, 1807, he then sells half interest in the same lot to William Vinal for $349.58 [Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 65, page 62].)

While it is currently unknown, it is assumed Asa Hosmer made good on his $800 debt to Nathaniel F. Fosdick, because, on June 7, 1808, Hosmer further mortgaged Lot 71 (still referred to as "the Gibbs lot" [Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 70, page 2]. The deed/ mortgage names Charles and George Barrett as the mortgage holders, and the mortgaged value as the extraordinary amount of $3506.74 (Lincoln Registry of Deeds, Vol. 70, page 2).

Twenty-five years later, on August 24, 1833, one Charles Barrett (presumably the same one as mortgaged Lot 71 in 1808) sells Lot 71, in its entirety, to Charles Pendleton. It is then that Lot 71 moves from being solely a farm, to being subdivided and commercially exploited for its sub-surface resources, specifically limestone.

On May 19, 1837, Charles Pendleton, and an apparent partner, Samuel G. Adams, sell approximately 52 acres of Lot 71 (its westerly end) for $600, to William George Barrett (Knox Registry of Deeds, Book 40, page 98). The same day, a deeded commercial agreement is also signed and filed, allowing passage over, essentially, the eastern end of Lot 71 for the sole purpose of "blowing lime" (i.e., quarrying limestone). (Knox Registry of Deeds, Book 40, page 97).

Having owned the westerly portion of Lot 71 for 10 years, William George Barrett sells it, in its entirety (being the same received from Samuel G. Adams and Charles Pendleton in 1837), to Walter W. Fly for $1075 on February 1, 1848 (Knox Registry of Deeds, Book 46, page 385). By the early 20th c. the remainder of Lot 71, somewhere between 50-60 acres, is subdivided into several smaller lots, conveyed, and inherited several times. Not until the late 1960's, and the establishment of Merryspring Nature Center, was the majority of Lot 71 reunited, approximately 66 acres. The remaining 30^+ acres of Lot 71 remain a largely intact remnant of Walter Flye's purchase of 1848.

Regional Archaeological Context

Mid-coast Maine is richly blessed with not only a complete history of Maine's post-glacial life, but some of the most informative archaeology, as well. From the Paleoindian period through the 19th c., mid-coast Maine's archaeological record, while impacted by regional growth and development over time, as most other places have been, includes some of the best preserved examples of Maine's post-glacial pre-history available, as well as numerous near pristine 18th and 19th century historic sites. The current effort illustrates this well.

The following is not intended to be a comprehensive list of sites. Rather, it is intended merely to illustrate a sample of the regional diversity within, and abundance of mid-coast Maine's archaeological resources.

Prehistoric Period

Camden

Tibbetts Site (28.52)

In 1994, the recovery of two stemmed bifaces in a backyard garden prompted the author to undertake a surface survey and limited archaeological testing of the Tibbetts property in Camden, Maine. The results included recovery of several piece of lithic debitage. No other Native American cultural material was recovered. The bifaces likely date to the Ceramic Period (c. 3000-500 year before present) (Mitchell 1995a).

Belfast

Belfast Bay Site (41.52)

The recovery of a possible Paleo-Indian chert scraper along the shore of Belfast Bay, in 1994, by an artifact collector, led the author to undertake a limited archaeological testing effort there. Twenty-seven, $50cm^2$ shovel test pit recovered lithic debitage, calcined bone, and non-temporally diagnostic stone tools. The site likely dates to the Ceramic Period (C. 3000-500 years before present) (Mitchell 1995b)

Lincolnville

Lehman Site (40.3)

In 1989, the author became aware of residential development along the shore of Ducktrap Harbor, Lincolnville, Maine. A known, presumed Native American shell midden site existed where the home was to be built. As a result, the author undertook an extensive archaeological testing effort, in 1989 and 1990. The effort's goal was to assess the potential for, and recover a sample of any Native American cultural materials present in the construction zone.

The effort resulted in identification of a multi-component, Ceramic and Archaic period Native American site involving thousands of square meters (Mitchell 1990 and 1991). Additionally, the presence of an historic, contact period component was also identified via the recovery of a white kaolin, funnel angle elbow trade tobacco pipe.

Northport

Carr Site (41.66)

In 1992, as part of a micro-regional assessment of Native American utilization of the Ducktrap Harbor, Lincolnville, Maine, the author undertook archaeological testing on the property of Jane and Alan Carr. Testing identified remnants of a single component, middle Ceramic Period occupation – dentate impressed ceramics (Mitchell 1993).

Ames Site (41.68 and 41.68A)

These two Native American sites are located along, and upwards of 100m back from Ducktrap Harbor's immediate shoreline, respectively. They involve a well preserved semi-subterranean house floor, significant non-shell midden, and a remote (presumed) fish processing locus. The archaeological testing effort was undertaken as part of a multi-year, micro-regional assessment of Native American utilization of the Ducktrap Harbor region, Lincolnville, Maine (Mitchell 1996).

Warren

July - August, 1989: The Warren Sites (27.59 and 27.60)

Undertaken by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission (MHPC) to meet regulatory requirements related to state highway reconstruction, the Warren sites involve the late Archaic and much of the Ceramic periods (Spiess, et al. 1993)

Harts Falls (28.53)

Undertaken as an independent archaeological testing effort, the Harts Fall Site is a multi-component, deeply stratified, unplowed, Native American, river margin side occupation site extending from the Early Archaic to late Ceramic Period (c. 9000-500 years before present) (Mitchell 2001).

Searsmont
Site 39.01
Discovered while undertaking contracted commercial archaeological testing, 39.01, a Paleo-indian site in Searsmont, Maine, dates to at least 10,000 year before present. It reflects Maine's earliest post-glacial human history (Bourque and Corey 1994).

Historic/Contact Period
Castine
Pentagoet (ME 084.003)
A 1987 archaeological effort in Castine, Maine, discovered, and tested an early French settlement along the shores of Penobscot Bay. The specific form of settlement was Fort Pentagoet (c. 1635-1674), a well developed French fort serving to reinforce the French hold on the region of Maine then known as Acadia.

Lincolnville
Lehmann Site (40.3)
The Lehmann Site, located along the shore of Ducktrap Harbor, in Lincolnville, Maine, possesses a Contact Period temporal component. Although represented by a single tobacco pipe recovery (funnel angle elbow trade form), the component is present none-the-less.

Historic Period
Thomaston
Warren Road
Also informing this current effort, and significantly, the Warren Road project identified and surficially explored a remnant of an English military road connecting St. Georges Fort in Thomaston, Maine, with Fort Pownall, on Cape Jellison, in Stockton Spring, Maine (c. 1764-1811^{+}) (Mitchell 2019a).

Lyman Field Site (ME 432.007)
The Lyman Field archaeological testing effort explored a secondarily deposited midden attributed to General Henry Knox, in Thomaston, Maine. The faunal, ceramic, construction debris, and other cultural materials derive from the initial few years of Knox's occupation in Thomaston (c. 1796-1810) (Mitchell and Bock 2019).

Stockton Springs
Redoubt #1 (ME 418.013)
The Redoubt #1 testing effort identified and explored a British redoubt and guardhouse on Cape Jellison, and associated with the development of Fort Pownall (c. 1759). The installation, capable of housing twenty British regulars and militia, protected a critical

portage, or "carry" across the "neck" connecting Cape Jellison (and Fort Pownall) with the mainland, and secured the rear area north of Fort Pownall (Bock, in process).

Fort Pownall Village

The Fort Pownall Village archaeological effort, while in its infancy, involves the location and identification of 18th c. development on Cape Jellison (c. 1759-1779). To date, testable, and predominantly intact known, or suspected archaeological expressions on Cape Jellison and "the neck" include: 1759 Redoubt #1 (above); 1759 Fort Pownall; a 1767 "post" windmill (grist); a 1760's suspected tea garden; a 1760's residential home; a 1760's brick chapel; a cemetery associated with Fort Pownall; an engineered English road connecting Redoubt #1 (above) with Fort Pownall, c. 1764±; an 18th – 19th c. shipyard; and various farms and associated buildings related to Cape Jellison's 18th c. development (Bock and Mitchell, in progress).

Lincolnville

Ducktrap Motel (ME 243.008)

The Ducktrap Motel site includes the remnants of a late 18th c. midden deposit, c. 1784+). Native American red clay beads, creamware and pearlware, as well as later ceramics, identify this site as likely relating to one of the first, post-Revolutionary War European occupations in Ducktrap, Maine (aka, Lincolnville, Maine) (Mitchell 2018a).

MHPC

Attributed to a period immediately post-1800, ME 243.003, .004, and .005 identify the initial development of the Ducktrap (coastal Lincolnville) commercial center. Known for its early lime industry (kiln and horse-drawn lime railway), its wind powered corn mill, and it multi-story brick store with the first micro-regional quarried granite sill, these three sites illustrate some of mid-Maine's earliest commercial/industrial development (Cranmer 1996).

Ulmer Site (ME 243.007)

Philip Ulmer, a German, born in Broad Bay (Waldoboro, Maine) in 1751, was a Continental officer of note, and regional entrepreneur. In his final nine years of life, he lived in a house approximately one mile interior of Ducktrap (Lincolnville), Maine. The Ulmer house site is an archaeologically intact, otherwise undisturbed, early 19th c example of residential development within mid-coast Maine (c. 1807-1816). Its contemporaneity with the current effort informs, and juxtaposes ME 073.014 (Mitchell 2015) (Hubert 2014).

Rockport

Thorndike-Conway House (ME 373.016; ME 373.017)

Begun in 2016, and continuing into 2018, the Thorndike-Conway House testing effort identified and explored both an early 19th c. home (c. 1806-1825), and an 18th c. midden (c. 1770's-very early 1780's) with a minor, very early 19th c. component as well (c.1800-1806). It is located on the Camden-Rockport Historical Society's property, in Camden and Rockport, Maine. The Revolutionary War period midden informs the current effort (Mitchell 2016, 2017, 2018b).

The Arau Site

The Arau Site is a middle-class residential home site reflecting developing 19th c. Camden. Located in modern Rockport, the site includes an intact cellar and midden, and maintains a rich sample of 19th c. life ways, especially as it relates to ceramics (c. 1830-1900) (Mitchell, 2020).

Camden

Camden Library Site (ME 073.003)

Undertaken as an effort to recover cultural material within the impact zone of an addition to the Camden Public Library in 1994, The Camden Library salvage effort identified the late 19th c. Ocean House Hotel foundation and partial midden deposit, in Camden, Maine (Mitchell 1995b).